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## V.—PLINY AND MAGIC.

It is a well-known and amusing fact that, notwithstanding the scorn and derision which Pliny heaps on the magicians, he gives many items that have made his book a most valuable repertory for the friends of ancient sorcery and folk-lore. And even now it is not superseded, although the discovery of magical papyri in Egypt<sup>1</sup> enables us to go back, in part at least, to the sources themselves. For two or three centuries separate these 'sorcerer's handbooks' from Pliny's age. We cannot believe that during this interval sorcery did not grow and develop. Yet, if we more accurately inquire into the relations between Pliny and these books, we are still able to find a close resemblance—nay, we may even make use of the Roman work to explain and elucidate the sorcerers' recipes. Dieterich, Wessely and Heim<sup>2</sup> have not failed to occasionally call our attention to this fact. I think, however, that a more searching examination will not be deemed superfluous.

One of the sorcerer's practical jokes consisted in bewitching his neighbor's cooking-range, so that no fire could be lit: *μάγειρον μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν πυρὰν ἀνάψαι*\* *βοτάνην αἰρίζων θές αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐστίαν* (B. M. CXXI 171). The same extinguishing and cooling property of the plant is mentioned by Pliny: *vis est refrigerare et adstringere* (XXV 162); *igni sacro medetur aizoum* (XXVI 121). Against burns an application of *radices cyclamini cum aizoo* is used (XXVI 129). Clearly for the same reason the herb must be worn as an amulet in conjuring the sun (*κάτοχος τοῦ φωτός* 974): Par. 1082.

If an old woman was too fond of gossip and strong drink, the magician chopped some pine-wood and mixed it with her customary evening draught: *γραῦν μὴ τὰ πολλὰ λαλεῖν μήτε πολλὰ πίνειν*·

<sup>1</sup> Parthey, *Zwei griech. Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums*: Abhandl. Berl. Akad. 1865 (P I, P II); Leemanns, *Papyri Graeci Mus. Lugd.-Batav.* II, 1885 = Dieterich, *Papyrus Magica* in *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl.* XVI (V.) and Abraxas, Leipzig, 1893 (W.); Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpapyrus von Paris u. London* in *Wiener Denkschr.* XXXVI (Par.); idem, *Neue griech. Zauberpap.*: *Wiener Denkschr.* XLII = Kenyon, *Greek Pap. in the Brit. Mus.*, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica*, in *Jahrb. f. Philol. Suppl.* XIX.

πίτιν κόψας βάλε αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ κρᾶμα (B. M. CXXI 174). So Pliny tells that the kernels of the pine-cone quench thirst: *nuclei nucis pineae sitim sedant* (XXXII 142).

If you want to indulge in wine without getting drunk, you must eat a pig's roast lung: *πολλὰ πίνοντα μὴ μεθύειν· χοίρειον πνεύμονα ὀπτήσας φάγε* (B. M. CXXI 180). This revellers did in Pliny's time as well: *ebrietatem arcet pulmo apri aut suis assus, ieiuni cibo sumptus eo die* (XXVIII 262).

He tells us (XXXIV 166) that leaden tablets were made use of *ad cohibendum impetum Veneris*. In the same way the magician of the fourth century, who wanted to prepare a *φιμωτικὸν καὶ ὑποτακτικὸν γενναῖον καὶ κάτοχος* (sic; the masculine is guarded by *κάτοχος* supra and *εἰδωλος* V 7, 24), inscribed his *hocus-pocus* on a leaden tablet made of a water-pipe (B. M. CXXI 405; Wessely, 1893, 10).

Several times in these papyri the celebrated plant *κατανάγκη* enters into a charm. These all distinctly refer to the Sun-god (B. M. CXXI 548, 1039; CXXII 74 ff.). The way to explain this connection is shown by Pliny (XXVII 57). Very scornfully he refuses to give particulars about a herb good only for love-charms. But he states at least the reason for this use: *electam ad hunc usum, quoniam arescens contrahat se in speciem unguium milvi*. The *milvus* or kite is a kind of hawk (*accipitris* genus, *ιέραξ* Greek), and the hawk, as is well known, was the sacred bird of the Sun-god (cp. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, s. v. *ιέραξ*).

B. M. CXXI 718 ff. give the recipe for an *ἀγρυπνητικὸν διὰ νυκτερίδος*, and some part of the same uncanny creature serves the same purpose in an *ἀγωγή ἀγρυπνητική* Par. 2943 and an *ἀγρυπνητικὸν* V 11, 27. With this we must compare Pliny, XXX 140 *somnum arcet vespertilionis caput aridum adalligatum*.

W. VI 26 ff. (Abraxas, 188, 2) we find a charm destined to make *μὴ ρικνώσαι ἄνδρα γυναῖκα ἢ ἄνδρα πρὸς γυναῖκα. λαβὼν ἀφόδευμα κυνὸς βάλε κατὰ τοῦ στροφέως τῆς θύρας αὐτῶν κτλ.* This effect was not confined to the solid excrements of a dog alone. At least: *qui in urinam canis suam egresserit dicitur ad venerem pigrior fieri* (Pliny, XXX 143; cp. XXIX 162).

Among the ingredients of a sacrifice by which an alleged thief shall be brought to confession, there is the tongue of a frog (Anastasy, XLVI 298, in Wessely I), if indeed *γλώσσα βατράχου* is not, as other parts of animals in these books so often are,

simply the mystical name of some harmless plant (Dieterich, *Jahrb. Suppl.* XVI 781 ff.). This explanation, however, does not seem to hold, when we consider the 'Democritean' charm, preserved by Pliny, XXXII 49 Democritus tradit, si quis extrahat ranae viventi linguam nulla alia corporis parte adhaerente, ipsaque dimissa in aquam, imponat supra cordis palpitacionem mulieri dormienti, quaecumque interrogaverit vera responsuram. About this curious recipe more will be said presently. It is true, the resemblance between this Democritean charm and the papyrus is not very striking. For in the latter the γλώσσα βατράχου only comes in in the sacrifice while the thief will properly be detected by the 'bread and cheese' ordeal, which played an important part in finding out a witch during the middle ages (Tuchmann, *Mélusine*, IV 224 f.).<sup>1</sup> But as the principal object in both cases is to force the truth from an unwilling mouth, we may, after all, have the right to connect the two passages.

V 6, 27 an elaborate charm begins: the manufacture of a little ring for every business and good luck, which is πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας λίαν ἐνεργές. The engraving must be made on an ἱασπιδ ἀερίζων (sic; cp. Dieterich, p. 826). Of this precious stone we read in Pliny (XXXVII 118): hanc iaspidem, quarum quae e Persis venit ἀερίζουσα est, utilem esse contionantibus prodiderunt <magi sc.>.

But Pliny's work is not only a help in explaining the papyri: it may be used to advantage to vindicate the readings of the manuscript against the editors. V III 24 ff. we have the recipe of a magical ink, by the inventor Hemerios. The first ingredient of the mixture is ἀνεμώνη φλογεΐτις. Now, φλογίτις is the well-known name of a stone, and therefore does not seem to stand rightly as an attribute of a plant. For this reason Leemans changed φλογεΐτιδος to φλογίνης, Dieterich to τρωγλίτιδος, after what he is pleased to call 'simillima μελανίου σκευή' in P I 243. . Howbeit, among the seven ingredients there named, the only one in common with our prescription is ἀρτεμισία μονόκλωνος, all the others being different. Now, in accepting his alteration—he puts a comma after ἀνεμώνης—we certainly would destroy the holy

<sup>1</sup> For this purpose they used 'du pain d'orge et du fromage de brebis.' Similarly the papyrus prescribes τυρόν αἶγ<ε>ιον 299. The bread, however, is made of σελίγνιον (cp. *siligo*) 'wheat-flour.' Ἄρτος μικρὸς καὶ τυρὸς ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ is the writing-material in an 'inscriptio in fures': cod. Vatic.-Palatinus, CXLVI, fol. 216 (sc. XVI, XV, XIV, Stevenson).

number 7, which to me seems a sufficient warrant for rejecting τραυλίτιδος. No more do I approve of Leemans' conjecture. There seems to be no reason why φλογίτις should not be an adjective, formed from φλόξ as σιδηρίτης and the feminine σιδηρίτις are formed from σίδηρος. And the following passages from Pliny are more than sufficient to prove that, from whatever motives, there was a close relation between the flower and red color. XXI 164 he says that anemone has florem phoenicium aut purpureum. Wilamowitz, it is true, restricts *phoeniceus* to a dark red (Herakles<sup>2</sup>, II 210), as being derived from φόνος. But in XXI 165 we read: silvestris (a. sc.) flore phoenicio. hanc alii errore papaver putant. If this confusion with the poppy-flower was at all possible, surely the color must have been nearer to a bright red. Finally, in 166 he reports that the herb was put to many uses in sorcery, and that it must be handled with a red rag: iubent <magi sc.> adalligari florem panno russeo. I do not doubt, therefore, that φλογεΐτιδος henceforth will be safe from any critical attempts.

The most interesting instance, however, of the threads running from Pliny to these papyri is found in CXXI 419 as compared with XXIX 81. I print the two passages beside each other:

νυκτολάλαμα (sic). λαβὼν κυκοφα-  
τίου τὴν καρδίαν καὶ βάλε εἰς ζύρ-  
ναν καὶ γράφε εἰς πιττάκιον ἱερατικὸν  
τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας καὶ  
ἐλίσσον τὴν καρδίαν εἰς τὸ πιττάκιον  
καὶ ἐπίθες ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς καὶ  
ἐπερώτα καὶ πάντα σοι ὁμολογήσει.

magicae exemplum vanitatis,  
quippe praeter reliqua porten-  
tosa mendacia cor eius (bubonis)  
impositum mammae mulieris  
dormientis sinistrae tradunt  
efficere ut omnia secreta pro-  
nuntiet.

That we have here essentially the same charm is manifest. Nor can there be any doubt that in Pliny its older and purer form has been preserved. I do not urge the point that this must be so because the Latin version is much shorter and lacks the spell of the Greek. For there is ample proof to show that in olden times, too, the efficacy of a magical action was increased by a 'rhyme' (cp. the examples in Heim's *Incantamenta Magica*, 507-12). But the complicated apparatus of the Greek text, with its ointment, sacred paper and abracadabra, does not look as if it were an original feature. Thus we have here one of the rare instances, where even our mutilated and fragmentary material permits us to see that there was no dull stagnation in magic, but a decided

development. One might object that the identity of the two passages is by no means certain, as the Greek has the hoopoe, while the Roman text in the corresponding place has the owl, and I might be referred to the quotation from Democritus (Plin. XXXII 149) which I mentioned above, in order to prove that diverse means were employed to the same end. Plausible as it seems, in our particular case the objection does not hold. For it can be shown that there was a very close relation between the hoopoe and the 'bubo.' The word *κυκοφάτιον* is, no doubt, equivalent to *κουκουφάτιον* (as *σῦχος* stands for *σοῦχος* V 7, 25), which itself must be a diminutive of *κουκούφας* 'hoopoe,' by some derived from the Egyptian.<sup>1</sup> In Hesych., however, we find the gloss *κοκκοβάρη γλαυξ*, and the modern Greek name of the owl is *κουκουβάια*. Keller (in his *Lateinische Etymologien*, 111 ff.) connects the first part of this with a root meaning a dull sound, the same from which *κόκκυξ* also has sprung. And, indeed, if we think of the importance attached to the peculiar sound of the owl's and especially of the bubo's voice (cp. Schwarz, *Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglauben*, 25 ff.), this seems extremely probable. Nor need the *β* of the gloss and the modern Greek stand in our way, if we remember that, in Macedonia at least, *β* is regularly found instead of *φ* (cp. *Βερενίκη*). We might therefore incline simply to see here one of those mistakes in translating which so frequently occur in Pliny, and restore the hoopoe to its place. But this, I fear, would be a very poor remedy. For as early as Epicharmus the hoopoe appears in company of the owl. Athenaeus (IX 391 d), speaking about the *σκάψ*, quotes from Epicharmus: *σκάψας ἔποπας γλαυκάς*. How does the *ἔποψ* come among the owls? As the hoopoe was probably not known to the Greeks before the fifth century (Oder, 545), there are only two possibilities: either *ἔποψ* originally was the name of some kind of owl and has only later been transferred to the hoopoe—this, however, in view of upupa, seems rather unlikely—or, granted that in Sicily the bird was known at this time, Epicharmus had reasons of his own to class it with the owls. If this be conceded—and I see no other way out of the difficulty—I have only one explanation to offer: there may have been a legend current that at certain periods the hoopoe appeared as an owl. Strange as this seems to us, especially as there is no

<sup>1</sup> Brugsch (Hier.-dem. Wtrbch. IV 1441), with whom Oder (Rhein. Mus. XLIII 552) seems to agree. Vaniček (Etymol. Wörterbuch, I 161), however, compares Sanskr. *kukkubha*.

resemblance between the two birds, with perhaps the exception of the crest, it certainly could not seem improbable to a Greek, who firmly believed that the cuckoo during six months was seen as a hawk (ἰέραξ). And it cannot be chance that the hoopoe also was said to appear as a similar bird of prey, the κίρκος (cp. Aristotle h. a. IX 633 a, 17 = Aeschylus, fgm. 304 N<sup>2</sup>). For cuckoo and hoopoe appear as closely connected birds also in German folklore (Der Kukuk und sein Küster, der Hopf; see Grimm's Mythology, 681-2). Nor is it unimportant that these two birds are of an uncanny demoniacal nature. For the same holds good of owls in general, and more especially of the bubo. In all these cases, if Keller and Vaniček be right, the voice of the bird must have given rise to the belief connected with it. I can, however, only offer this as a mere hypothesis, in the hope that somebody better versed in bird-lore than myself may be able to supply the missing links. Under all circumstances, were it not for the parallel between Pliny and the papyrus, we would be absolutely unable to attempt a solution of the riddle offered by Epicharmus' enumeration.

There remains still one more apparent discrepancy between Pliny and the papyrus to be explained. According to the Roman naturalist, the charm must be applied to the left breast, while the Greek uses here the word ψυχή. That this means 'heart,' and that Pliny's expression likewise refers to this part, is made almost certain by the similar charm from Democritus, quoted above. In this the tongue of the frog must be put 'supra cordis palpitationem.' At first it appears strange that ψυχή should at all be used of some part of the body. The widespread belief, however, that the seat of the soul was in the heart, which, according to Cicero (Tuscul. I 19), was even the most common view, helps us to understand the transition. In fact, instances of καρδιά being used, where we would expect soul, are too numerous to be quoted. But, on the other hand, the use of ψυχή for καρδιά is rather singular. I have not been able to find any undoubted parallel. Nearest perhaps comes Pap. Par. 1522 ff. Here we read: μή εἰσέλθῃς αὐτῆς διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, μὴ διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν, μὴ διὰ τῶν ὀνύχων, μηδὲ διὰ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ, μηδὲ διὰ τῶν μελῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἔμμενον αὐτῆς (sic) (διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ)<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ. As the eyes

<sup>1</sup>The parentheses are mine. The words διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ seem not only ungrammatical, but also out of place. Probably δ. τ. ψ. was erroneously repeated, and then the καὶ added in order to give the phrase some meaning.

have been excluded, the *ψυχή* cannot be thought to be in them, although they were very frequently said to be the seat of the soul (*Physiognom.* ed. Förster passim; cp. the index), and although the eyes are the proper entrance-gate for love in Greek erotic tales (Rohde, *Roman*, 149, 2, 3). If we, furthermore, observe that the enumeration of the forbidden parts begins with the eyes and then steadily tends downwards, we will hardly think of the nostrils, to which otherwise the *ψυχή* would be very appropriate. The concluding words seem to prove that here, too, *ψυχή* stands for the heart itself, or, better perhaps, for the breast. In this case it would almost literally answer to Pliny's 'mamma sinistra.'

I have been unable to ascertain whether this use of *ψυχή* can be traced back, as we might suspect, to some one medical or philosophical sect. But it is interesting to quote in this connection Sophocles (El. 784 ff.):

ἦδε γὰρ μείζων βλάβη  
ξύνοικος ἦν μοι, τοῦ μὲν ἐκπίνουσ' ἀεὶ  
ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἶμα.

These desultory remarks, I hope, will serve to show that by carefully extending similar observations over the whole range of magical literature in comparison with the classical writers on natural history and medicine,<sup>1</sup> some light may be thrown on one of the sources of this most interesting branch of literature. For as yet there is absolutely no secure footing, if one wants to inquire into the history of the varied traditions on magic. And such comparison may, furthermore, enable us to come to a clearer understanding as to what, in all the miraculous and fabulous tales, really belongs to folklore and what has been handed down, even to Greeks and Romans, simply by learned tradition.

ERNST RIESS.

<sup>1</sup> As to medicine, I will give a chance example taken from Marcellus Empiricus. B. M. CXXI 182 πολλὰ βινεῖν δύνασθαι· στροβίλια πεντήκοντα μετὰ δύο κνάθων γλυκέος καὶ κόκκους πεπέρεως τρίψας πιέ (cp. V, I 21 f.). Thus M. E. XXXIII 66 ut rebus veneriis aptus sis, piper tritum cum oleo et melle misce et, cum coire voles, verenda tibi inline; and XXXIII 35 nucleos pineos minutos purgatos numero XXX adiecto pauxillo croci simul tritos, si quis ex passi (γλυκέος) cyatho cotidie per dies IX continuos bibat, mire penis vitio celeriterque sanabitur.